

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 SAJ-01 EB-11 OMB-01

AF-10 DRC-01 EA-11 TRSE-00 /181 W  
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P 191303Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7268

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 3879

PARIS PASS ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR US NO NATO OVIP (STOESSEL, WALTER)

SUBJECT: US-NORWEGIAN CONSULTATION: ATLANTIC RELATIONS

REF: A. OSLO 3821

B. USNATO 4979

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BEGIN SUMMARY. NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND

HAS AFFIRMED THAT THE NEW NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT, LIKE ITS PREDECESSOR, ENDORSES THE U.S. INITIATIVE FOR A NEW DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS. IN HIS OCTOBER 17 MEETING WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL, FRYDENLUND ALSO STRESSED THAT, IF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR NATO IS TO CONTINUE, A NEW DECLARATION MUST EMPHASIZE NOT JUST THE DEFENSE ASPECTS OF THE ALLIANCE (AS IN THE FRENCH DRAFT) BUT ITS DETENTE ROLE AS WELL. STOESSEL NOTED THAT THE U.S. IS ENCOURAGED BY THE MOVEMENT ON THE PART OF THE FRENCH WHICH THEIR DRAFT REFLECTS, BUT HE AGREED THAT ADDITIONS ARE NEEDED AND THAT THE LANGUAGE SHOULD BE CAREFULLY STUDIED WITH A VIEW TO CONSIDERING THE "GAULLIST" ASPECTS AS PERCEIVED BY THE NORWEGIANS. THE DISCUSSION ENCOMPASSED THE NEED FOR REFERENCES TO THE DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE, COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC AREAS, AND BURDEN SHARING. DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND OF GUINEA-BISSAU IS REPORTED SEPARATELY. END SUMMARY

1. DURING HIS BRIEF VISIT TO OSLO OCTOBER 17, ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL, ACCOMPANIED BY THE AMBASSADOR, CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER BRATTELI (SEPTEL), THEN PROCEEDED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHERE DCM AND POLOFF JOINED FOR HOUR'S WORKING SESSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KNUT FRYDENLUND, KJELD VIBE (DIRECTOR GENERAL, POLITICAL AFFAIRS), EINAR ANSTEENSEN (DIRECTOR GENERAL, PLANNING), AND HAAKON FREIHOW (NATO DIVISION CHIEF).

2. AT OUTSET, FOREIGN MINISTER CONGRATULATED SECRETARY KISSINGER AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ON AWARDS OF NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, WHICH HE SAID WAS A STIMULUS TO THE SORT OF QUIET DIPLOMACY STOESSEL HIMSELF IS CARRYING OUT. STOESSEL RESPONDED THAT HE WAS WITH THE SECRETARY SHORTLY AFTER AWARD WAS ANNOUNCED AND THAT SECRETARY WAS VERY MOVED AND LOOKS FORWARD TO COMING TO OSLO TO RECEIVE THE AWARD.

3. FRYDENLUND OPENED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESENTATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS. THOUGH HE SAID HE HAD BEEN IN OFFICE ONLY A FEW HOURS AND HAD NOT HAD TIME TO DIGEST ALL THE BRIEFS PREPARED FOR HIM, HE SHOWED

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HIMSELF WELL INFORMED ON MAIN POINTS. HE PREFACED REMARKS WITH STATEMENT THAT NORWAY UNDER THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT HAD WELCOMED THE U.S. INITIATIVE FOR AN ATLANTIC DIALOGUE AND THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IN THIS REGARD IS THE SAME. HE THEN OUTLINED NORWEGIAN VIEWS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE DIALOGUE, INCLUDING DIFFICULTIES WITH THE FRENCH DRAFT, VERY MUCH ALONG LINES FOLLOWED BY SECRETARY GENERAL GJELLUM AND VIBE ON

OCTOBER 12 (REF A). IN POINTING UP THE NEED FOR A NATO DECLARATION THAT STRESSES THE DETENTE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE, NOT JUST DEFENSE, FRYDENLUND DREW FROM HIS EXPERIENCES IN THE RECENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN, WHICH BROUGHT HOME TO HIM THE EXTENT OF THE GENERATION GAP. HE SAID IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO TELL THE 30-AND-UNDER GENERATION THAT NATO IS THERE TO DESTROY THE OTHER SIDE IF NECESSARY; IF WE ARE TO RETAIN POPULAR SUPPORT, IN NORWAY AS ELSEWHERE, THE NEW DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC PRINCIPLES MUST ALSO STRESS THAT NATO IS TRYING TO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR PEACE.

4. ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESEL RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. IS VERY MUCH AWARE OF NORWEGIAN CONCERNS; WE WANT TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH, HE SAID, AND HE WAS GLAD TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR DOING SO, EVEN THOUGH HIS VISIT WAS BRIEF. HE ALSO SAID HE WAS IMPRESSED WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S REMARKS ABOUT THE YOUNGER GENERATION, ADDING THAT THE U.S. TOO HAD SEEN THIS AS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR A NEW DECLARATION OF THE PURPOSES OF THE ALLIANCE.

5. STOESEL EXPLAINED THE EVOLUTION OF THE DIALOGUE IN TERMS OF THE ORIGINAL U.S. PREFERENCE FOR A SINGLE DECLARATION, OUR ACCEPTANCE NOW OF TWO TRACKS, THE FACT THAT A THIRD "CHAPEAU" IS POSSIBLE BUT IS NOT ACTIVELY BEING WORKED ON, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF ASSOCIATING JAPAN, IN SOME AS YET UNDETERMINED WAY, WITH THE DEVELOPED NATIONS OF THE WEST. WITH REGARD TO THE US-EC DISCUSSIONS AND HIS FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH THE NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS IN COPENHAGEN, HE SAID THE U.S. HAD CONSIDERED THE EC DRAFT RATHER THIN IN THAT IT LACKED EMPHASIS ON THE TRANS-ATLANTIC ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND ON COOPERATION AND INTERDEPENDENCE. HE THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE AGREEMENT ON SOME POINTS IN COPENHAGEN BUT NOT ON ALL,  
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AND THAT THERE WOULD BE SEVERAL MORE MEETINGS. WHEN HE REMARKED THAT SOME OF THE NINE HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITH THE CONCEPT OF INTERDEPENDENCE, FRYDENLUND ASKED WHETHER THERE WAS MORE THAN ONE IN THAT CATEGORY. STOESEL SAID THAT MIGHT BECOME CLEARER IN COPENHAGEN.

6. TURNING TO THE NATO DECLARATION, THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAID THE U.S. CONSIDERS THE FRENCH DRAFT QUITE GOOD AND BELIEVES THAT FRANCE SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED. HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT WE DO NOT THINK THE DRAFT IS COMPLETE, THAT WE MERELY PROPOSE TO TAKE IT AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE, AND THAT IN PARTICULAR WE WANT LANGUAGE ON BURDEN SHARING AND ON MBFR. WE KNOW THE FRENCH WOULD PREFER A DOCUMENT THAT ALL 15 CAN AGREE TO, YET WE ALSO KNOW THEY WILL HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITH BOTH OF THESE

POINTS; IT MAY BECOME NECESSARY TO USE THE 14-PLUS-ONE FORMULA.

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USMISSION NATO

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 OSLO 3879

PARIS PASS ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL

7. SEVERAL SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THE DECLARATION WERE  
DISCUSSED:

--COOPERATION IN OTHER AREAS. ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
STOESSEL SAID THE U.S. WOULD CERTAINLY SUPPORT THE DESIRE  
OF THE NORWEGIANS AND OTHERS TO REFER TO ECONOMIC

COOPERATION, AT LEAST IN A GENERAL WAY.

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--"DEMOCRACY." VIBE REEMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR INCLUSION OF THE PREAMBULAR PRINCIPLES ON DEMOCRACY BUT, AS HE HAD DONE ON OCTOBER 12, SAID THIS SHOULD BE DONE IN A WAY THAT WOULD NOT BE PROVOCATIVE TOWARD GREECE, TURKEY, AND PORTUGAL. ASKED WHETHER NORWEGIANS WOULD BE SUBMITTING LANGUAGE, VIBE SAID THEY WOULD MENTION IT IN A GENERAL WAY AT THAT AFTERNOON'S NAC SESSION (CF. REF B) AND LATER WOULD SUGGEST MORE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. FRYDENLUND MADE THE INTERESTING INTERJECTION THAT A SIMPLE REFERENCE TO THE PREAMBLE OF THE NATO TREATY SHOULD BE ENOUGH, AS THERE WOULD CERTAINLY BE A REACTION IF AN ATTEMPT WERE MADE TO SPELL OUT THE PRINCIPLES. STOESSEL SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE U.S. COULD SUPPORT THE NORWEGIANS ON THIS AND THAT THE COUNTRIES VIBE HAD MENTIONED WOULD BE ABLE TO ACCEPT IT.

--BURDEN SHARING. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM FRYDENLUND, STOESSEL STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM BUT AGREED THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT EXPECT THE NATO DECLARATION TO CONTAIN A PRECISE FORMULA FOR SOLVING IT; RATHER, HE SAID, WE WOULD WANT A GENERAL RECOGNITION OF THE PROBLEM AND AN EXPRESSION OF DETERMINATION TO MEET IT. HE SAID THE U.S. WILL BE SUGGESTING LANGUAGE NEXT WEEK.

8. APART FROM THE TONE OF AND THE OMISSIONS FROM THE FRENCH DRAFT, VIBE BROUGHT UP NORWEGIAN CONCERNS OVER INCLUSION OF WHAT HE TERMED THE FRENCH TACTICAL DOCTRINE THAT U.S. AND NORTH AMERICAN SECURITY INTERESTS ARE NOT NECESSARILY CONSISTENT WITH EUROPEAN SECURITY INTERESTS. WHILE THE GAULLIST ELEMENTS ARE CAREFULLY CONCEALED, HE SAID, THEY ARE THERE AND MAY CAUSE PROBLEMS. TO THIS ANSTEENSEN ADDED THAT THE DOCUMENT IS DRAFTED WITH CONSIDERABLE LOGIC BUT THAT THE LOGIC IS ON THE FRENCH SIDE. HE THOUGHT THE FRENCH WOULD BE IN A VERY STRONG POSITION ONCE THEIR DRAFT WAS ACCEPTED, AND HE RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE PRINCIPLES EXPRESSED IN IT ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE ATTITUDE OF THE OTHER 14. STOESSEL REPLIED THAT WE WILL WANT TO STUDY THE LANGUAGE VERY CAREFULLY FROM THAT VIEWPOINT, BUT HE STATED ONCE  
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MORE THAT IT IS AT LEAST ENCOURAGING TO FIND THIS MUCH  
MOVEMENT ON THE PART OF THE FRENCH.

9. FRYDENLUND INQUIRED ABOUT THE TIMETABLE FOR THE  
DECLARATION AND THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO EUROPE, AND  
STOESSEL REPLIED THAT IT IS STILL CONCEIVABLE, IF THE  
DECLARATION COULD BE COMPLETED IN TIME AND A SATISFACTORY  
PROCEDURE FOR SIGNING WORKED OUT, THAT THE PRESIDENT  
MIGHT COME BEFORE MID-NOVEMBER. OTHERWISE, IT WOULD BE  
PERFECTLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE U.S. TO HAVE THE TRIP EARLY  
NEXT YEAR, PERHAPS IN FEBRUARY OR MARCH. HE POINTED OUT  
THAT THE U.S. IS NOT PRESSING AND DOES NOT FEEL ANY GREAT  
NEED FOR THE DECLARATION OUT OF U.S. DOMESTIC CONCERNS;  
IF IT TAKES A LITTLE LONGER TO WORK OUT, THIS IS  
SATISFACTORY TO US.

10. DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLEEAST CRISIS AND OF RECOGNI-  
TION OF GUINEA-BISSAU IS REPORTED BY SEQBELS (NOTAL).  
THIS REPORT WAS DRAFTED AFTER THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S  
DEPARTURE FROM OSLO. BYRNE

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## Message Attributes

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